THE LATIN AMERICAN TOUR

# Stevenson is given a message for JFK: Hands off Cuba

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By Robert E. Light

ADLAI STEVENSON set out reluctantly June 4 for a Latin American tour as President Kennedy's barometer of the hemisphere's high-pressure areas. He was to return in three weeks with readings from ten capitals. If the forecasts were good, the President would lead a U.S. delegation to Uruguay July 15 to an inter-American conference to launch the "Alliance for Progress," the Administration's Latin American aid program.

Stevenson was to assess the economic needs of each country and weigh its political stability. He was also to examine the damage to U.S. prestige from the Cuba invasion fiasco and explore the possibilities of joint action against Castro.

As the GUARDIAN went to press, Stevenson was on the last leg of his journey. His talks with heads of state were private. But it was clear from public statements by some officials and from popular demonstrations by students and others that Latin America's advice to the U.S. was to stay out of Cuba. Stevenson also learned that each country is beset by economic woes which only industrialization and agrarian reform will alleviate. Many of the presidents he visited have a tenuous hold on power, dependent on support of the military. But if the economic depression is not relieved, this may not be enough.

**BALKY AT FIRST:** Stevenson opposed the trip at first, according to Joseph Newman in the New York **Herald Tribune.** He toured Latin America as a private citizen in February and March, 1960, and had gained high personal prestige. Many in Latin America hoped he would

*(Continued on Page 10)*

**LA PAZ, BOLIVIA: THE LADY COULD HAVE TOLD MR. STEVENSON AN EARFUL**
*The contrast between the present and the past—and what an "alliance for progress" could really mean—is spelled out in this photo at the La Paz airport high in the Andes Mountains (see story, left).*

Leo Garel in the Wall Street Journal
**"Do you people keep an up-to-date list of the countries that are mad at us?"**

THEY'LL DEMONSTRATE IN RED SQUARE

# Soviet Union to welcome peace marchers

Special to the Guardian
LONDON

THE SAN FRANCISCO to Moscow peacewalkers were assured of a welcome when they arrive in the Soviet Union. They also announced last week that they would make another attempt to enter France despite government refusal to allow them on French soil.

The 27 walkers, sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA), said they would stage a civil disobedience demonstration at Le Havre, France, if authorities persist in barring them.

Five of the group jumped ship June 13 when French officials refused them permission to debark in Le Havre on the first attempt. Police apprehended four swimmers and sent them back to England with the other walkers.

The fifth, Robert Kingsley of Durham, N.H., managed to walk to the home of a French sympathizer and then on to Paris, where he sent a message to President Charles De Gaulle requesting clearance for the group. In addition, a band of French supporters who had intended to join the Americans began a walk to Paris on their own in protest.

**MUSTE IN MOSCOW:** News of the favorable Soviet decision was brought to the group soon after the Le Havre episode by A. J. Muste, CNVA chairman, following conferences in Moscow with the Soviet Peace Committee.

Muste reported that Mikhail Kotov, general secretary of the Peace Committee, "regarded the walk as a sincere contribution to the cause of peace."

The CNVA chairman said the Peace Committee agreed that the walkers should have every right to approach Soviet citizens and groups with a call for unilateral disarmament and to carry signs with the same message. When in Moscow, he revealed, the group plans to hold a demonstration against militarism in Red Square.

**HELP IS OFFERED:** The Soviet peace group expressed concern for the walkers during cold weather expected in October along the 1,000-mile route to the capital. They offered the walkers a vehicle to a carry baggage and a shelter.

Muste told the walkers he was "deeply impressed by the combination of respecting our independence by letting us pay our own way and then making a real gesture of hospitality."

**RUSSIANS MAY JOIN:** He predicted that some Soviet citizens would join the walk in addition to the ten Americans and nine Europeans already participating.

Criteria for joining include adherence to the Eight-Point Policy of the March which states, in part, a pledge of non-violence, opposition to armaments of East and West, a call for unilateral disarmament and an appeal to all peoples to stop cooperating with military programs.

The walk, entirely sponsored by the generous contributions of several thousand American supporters of CNVA, began in San Francisco Dec. 1.

A COMMENTARY ON THE NEW FRONTIER'S FOREIGN POLICY

# The status quo is more dangerous than change

By David Wesley
Special to the Guardian
WASHINGTON

AS THE YOUNG PIONEER of the New Frontier regroups his tattered forces after the disaster at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba and ponders the texts of the conversations at the Union in Vienna, what does he see for the road ahead?

It is the essence of President Kennedy's problem that almost nothing has been brought into clear focus—and especially is this true of the road's destination, the "New Frontier." There is an important distinction between slogans like the "New Deal" and the "Fair Deal" on the one hand, and "New Frontier" on the other. The previous slogans were fashioned out of the programs they stood for, not vice versa as in the Kennedy case. The two "Deals" stood for concrete domestic programs of social reform.

**THE GIMMICK:** But the "New Frontier" is a Madison Ave. label pasted onto a collection of windy abstractions covering mainly foreign-policy goals—"freedom," "strength," "progress," "peril," "greatness," "security." It is significant—and overlooked—that the sesquipedalians of liberalism now occupying the White House, including the President himself, have never tried to make these terms and goals concrete. This is the key to the Administration: Just as the statements of advertisers are meant not to define differences among products but to conceal similarities, so do the singing pronouncements of this Administration serve not to describe and explain new policies, but to disguise the fact that there really aren't any.

The cause of this concealment is that a vigorous, liberal regime, tied to a progressive political tradition, is in fact firmly attached to the status quo. Semantic concealment (not always a conscious process) accounts for policy dec-

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# THE MAIL BAG

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

GLOUCESTER, MASS. — Portraits of Washington and Lincoln will be hung once more in the classrooms of this city's schools, the school board voted Wednesday night. The committee acted after a member, Harry W. Curtis, said he had visited the 180 classrooms in the city and found not a single portrait of either President. Curtis said the situation was a result of the "Communist movement in this country."

—Boston **Herald**, June 15

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anon., Boston, Mass.

### Not blackmail

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

When a magistrate says, "Ten dollars or ten days, for passing a red light," nobody says: "It's blackmail. It's ransom." Tractors for Castro's prisoners is simply: Fine (paid in bartered tractors) or imprisonment (for two years, cutting sugar cane). These prisoners are guilty of treason and counterrevolution. There is no parallel with Eichmann's offer to ransom innocent Jewish captives (who were not guilty of any crime) for trucks.

**Edward Quire**

### It's indemnity

NEW YORK, N.Y.

What Castro said was not that he would exchange the prisoners for tractors, as the press has informed its readers, but that he would release them if the United States indemnified Cuba for the material damage caused by the invasion. Only a great man could have made so magnanimous an offer.

**William T. Fowler**

### It's a deal . . .

DUNEDIN, FLA.

Bulldozers for goons . . .

**Fred Grickman**

### . . . by any name

SHELTON, WASH.

. . . prisoners for Cats.

**Herbert G. Nelson**

### Program for peace

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I suggest we begin with Leo Huberman's four-point program for peace with Cuba and proceed from there later with a program for peace with Russia and China.

**(Rt. Rev.) C. E. Duffy, D.D.**

### The question

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Americans pretend to be democratic and liberal; thus their only question about Cuba should be: Do the majority of the people support Castro and his doings? It being reported that they do, all Americans are duty bound to be in sympathy with the Cuban people and their new government.

**Joseph Manlet**

### Castro unfair

ALPINE, N.Y.

The trouble with Castro is that he doesn't play the game according to U.S. rules. In our country, when an organization looks as if it is getting somewhere, it is only necessary for someone to point out that within the organization is a Communist or someone who once spoke to a Communist. Then the rules provide that everything must stop till the Communist is removed, then the defenders of the Communist, the defenders of the defenders, ad infinitum. By and by the organization becomes pure and those who are left in it have forgotten what they started to do in the first place.

When it was pointed out to Castro that there were Communists in Cuba he went right ahead with land reform and clearing up corruption, completely ignoring both the rules and the importance of the issue.

**George Cook**

### Conference needed

SCITUATE, MASS.

Why not call a conference of Southern governors and explain the Constitution and the Supreme Court decision to them? Tell them color is not a bar to citizenship and that interstate travel is legal for all persons regardless of complexion.

**Mary Walsh Carlson**

### Southern violence

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am wondering what the rest of the world thinks about men being knocked down in the street with the police standing by. It's a bit discouraging to have to choose friends carefully when I decide to take a trip through the Southern states.

**Stephen Engber**

### Deep in Mississippi

————, MISS.

You cannot know the joy I feel at being a new GUARDIAN reader. Yes, even in this despicable land, your words have reached a high school Negro (senior).

I'm what our asinine Gov. Ross Barnett refers to as a "northern agitator." I'm brazen enough to belong to Fair Play and the NAACP, which are quite obviously subversive. Humor aside, I am truly pleased to realize your readers exist. At times I begin to feel as if I were drowning in a sea of ignorance and disinterest. Therefore, you can see why your paper was a welcome gift from a friend in California.

**J.M.**

### Exception taken

ALBANY, N.Y.

I am deeply offended at the gratuitous insult offered Christians and other Theists by your inclusion of the Archbishop of Canterbury's graphic statement on the efficacy of intercessory prayer in the "How Crazy Can You Get?" department on May 15.

For your information, neither Dr. Martin Luther King nor Willard Uphaus, nor Fr. Michael Scott, nor Fr. Trevor Huddleston, nor the Patriarch Alexei, nor hundreds of other praying progressives, lay or clerical, has been declared insane by any competent authority, despite the fact that they, like His Grace of Canterbury, believe they "reach out into space" every day in prayer.

**(Rev.) Charles Campbell**

Stamwitz, Signalman's Journal

**"I'd like to see if it can budget my husband's wages to meet the present cost of living!"**

### A dissent

BOSTON, MASS.

I wish to take issue with Alvah Bessie re **Never on Sunday**, which he called "best original screenplay." I have been seeing films for about 40 years and never walked out on one until **Never on Sunday**, a meretricious, confused, grade C movie.

**Ethel Alper**

### Enclosed find . . .

BEACON, N.Y.

With deep appreciation to our many friends who are GUARDIAN readers ($26).

**Toshi and Peter Seeger**

### Thanks a million

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Am sending my copy of May 22 GUARDIAN to Ted Sorenson in the White House with a few words of my own. Oh, if I only had a million bucks for the GUARDIAN!

**Horace Casselberry**

### In memory

WILLOW RIVER, MINN.

One of our members, Andrew Cockan, died of a heart attack April 27. He was a subscriber to the GUARDIAN since it started. In his memory we are sending $5.

**Mrs. A. E. Borchardt, Sec'y.**
Progressive Farmer Labor Club

### Voice in wilderness

FORT WILLIAMS, ONT.

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN is like unto John the Baptist, "a voice crying in the wilderness." Like the prophet, it has been beheaded, its Editor is in exile, but its voice continues to be heard. Long may it be heard, yes, until the day the inheritors of the mantle of Eugene Victor Debs speak in the United States Congress and House of Representatives with the true accents of the American people.

**George R. Fawcett**
Sec'y, Ft. William CCF-New Party Association

## Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

AT 7 A.M. ON WEDNESDAY, FBI agents knocked on doors, rang bells, hauled from bed to jail a total of 17 persons on new indictments under the recently upheld Smith Act charging conspiracy to teach and advocate overthrow of the government. The prey were leading figures in the Communist Party, U.S.A. Four others for whom warrants were issued could not be found; on Thursday they were declared fugitives from justice. Two of those charged with conspiracy and seized—Israel Amter, 70, and Jacob Mindel, 69—have been bedridden for years; two others—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, 61, and Claudia Jones, 34—have serious heart ailments.

Bail for 16 of the victims was first set at a total of $277,500 (the 17th, Arnold Johnson, was held in Pittsburgh in $15,000 bail). Total for the 17 was eventually reduced to $191,000. The government refused to accept $36,000 in Treasury bonds for release of the four most seriously ill. Amter, whose condition is obvious, was paroled in custody of his attorney; $1,000 in cash was posted for Mindel. But on Friday the Appeals Court directed U.S. Atty. Irving H. Saypol to accept the bonds; the three judges ruled Saypol might contest the Civil Rights Congress' right to put them up, but that he could not keep the defendants in jail pending the outcome. Released were Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Claudia Jones, leaving 13 behind bars.

—From the National Guardian, June 27, 1951

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### REPORT TO READERS

# New trial balloon

ON JUNE 14 Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.), chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, made a speech in Congress and later held a press conference calling for the resumption of nuclear tests, on which there has been a voluntary moratorium by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union for nearly three years.

The New York **Times** pointed out that Holifield is the leading Congressional spokesman on atomic affairs and on close terms with President Kennedy. Holifield said his views reflected the views of a majority of his committee. The **Times** reported "reliable indications" that Holifield's speech was "designed as a trial balloon for the Administration."

In a very few days there was no doubt left about it: the Administration addressed its note to the Soviet government rejecting the Soviet proposal to merge the test talks with the pending disarmament negotiations and hinting, without exactly saying so, that rather than stretch out the test talks further, the U.S. might end the moratorium at its end and start testing again.

SINCE A RESUMPTION of tests would occasion a calamitous loss in prestige in the eyes of the world for the nation undertaking it, the Administration note to the U.S.S.R. hinted that tests might be going on there right now disguised as earthquakes. No evidence has been offered of alleged resumption of tests by the U.S.S.R.; indeed there is every indication of the most scrupulous Soviet observance of the moratorium.

Hence the Holifield speech may be regarded as the opening gun in the campaign to win U.S. opinion around to a resumption of the tests, on the ground that without the kind of inspection system the Soviets have correctly identified with our U-2 "intelligence" probes, we can't tell what clandestine explosions may be behind seismic disturbances. To do less than resume testing, Holifield said, would be to "gamble with the destiny of the United States and the free world."

The concealed purpose of resuming tests would be to reinstate the "balance of terror" theory of the arms race, and end any chance of success of the disarmament talks in August, aimed at dismantling world stockpiles of atomic and all other weapons of mass restruction.

JUST OVER TEN YEARS AGO, the Truman Administration lofted a similar trial balloon—two of them, in fact, one by General MacArthur, the other by then Secretary of the Navy Francis P. Matthews, Forrestal's successor. It was in August, 1950, at a tough time in the Korean War. Matthews' speech called for "aggression for peace"—in uglier terms, preventive war; and MacArthur demanded war with China, using Formosa as an "unsinkable aircraft carrier."

At that time both statements were rapidly repudiated by the Administration, but within a week Vice President Barkley was advancing the ideas anew. The GUARDIAN at that time recalled the last previous "trial balloon," Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Mo., in March, 1946, now acknowledged as the opening gun of the Cold War. It was recalled that both Truman and British Prime Minister Attlee were forced by public pressure to repudiate Churchill's views; although it came out later that Secy. of State Byrnes, Bernard Baruch, Averell Harriman and Walter Bedell Smith all had a hand in framing Churchill's remarks. The GUARDIAN commented at that time (Sept. 6, 1950):

"Hardly anybody needs to be reminded how cruelly successful the Administration has been at changing the public mind from its One World hopes of 1945-46 to acceptance of the divided world which Churchill, Truman and the people behind them have brought about in the intervening years."

And of the MacArthur-Matthews 1950 "ploys" the Wall Street **Journal** then commented:

"The people have already been told that however the Korean business ends the country is going on a war footing. We are told to expect years and years of little wars and half-wars, perhaps fighting here, perhaps there, but anyway never free to go our own way in peace . . .

"We pray that the American people will be spared the moral insanity of ever believing that war is preferable to peace, or that war is a way to peace."

AS WE SAID THEN, pray if you like with the Wall Street **Journal** but in any case keep your powder dry for the big fight ahead, this time to make resumption of nuclear testing appear to be the will of the American people, so that this Administration can again worm its way out of disarmament negotiations which are clearly in consonance with the will of all the peoples of the world.

—THE GUARDIAN

RUSSELL TELLS KENNEDY: YOU HAVEN'T SEEN ANYTHING YET

# British press Polaris base protest

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff Correspondent

LONDON

LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL, the 86-year-old scientist and philosopher, has written to President Kennedy telling him that more demonstrations against the Polaris submarine base at Holy Loch, Scotland, are planned. The recent demonstrations, in which police and U.S. officers clashed with the demonstrators, were only "preliminary protests," Russell warned the President.

The Committee of 100, which Russell heads, plans a mass sitdown protest at Holy Loch in September. Participants will pledge themselves to non-violence and be ready to go to jail. It is hoped thousands will take part.

In his letter to the President, Russell wrote: "Agitation against the Polaris base in Great Britain has generated antagonism not only to the policy of the British government but also to that of the United States."

**DANGERS CITED:** The letter dealt with the dangers of the base and says that in time of crisis it would probably be impossible for British authorities to exercise any control over actions of the submarines.

"There is a distinct possibility which has been emphasized by your most authoritative writer, Herman Kahn, that as long as there is a Polaris base in Britain, Russia might retaliate against Britain alone. Such retaliation might and probably would destroy the whole population of Britain in the course of at most an hour, without (again I quote Herman Kahn) provoking American retaliation. It is very questionable whether British membership of NATO and British permission for American bases on our territory add anything to the strength of America."

Finally Russell told the President that there is a growing belief in this country that Britain could be more effective in preventing war if she were neutral between East and West.

Eccles, London Daily Worker
**"As a matter of fact, officer, this is part of our Early Warning System!"**

**WIDE PUBLICITY:** Official circles in Britain make no secret of the fact that the demonstrations against the Holy Loch base are a serious embarrassment. The British fear the U.S. will withdraw the base in view of the mounting tide of anti-American feeling in Britain.

The recent demonstrations at Holy Loch by members of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons, who marched all the way from London and were joined by hundreds of sympathizers at the Loch, received the widest publicity. In addition, police imported from Glasgow and other Scottish towns showed such brutality during the sitdown that an inquiry is under way.

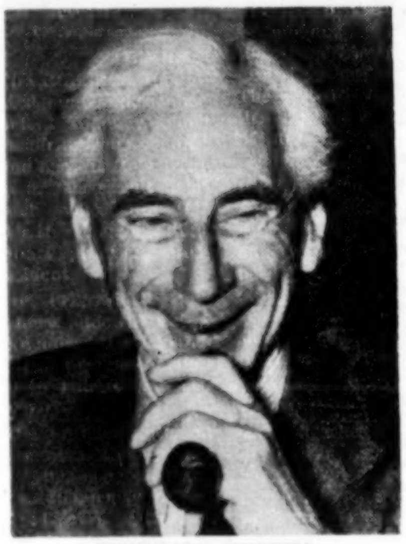
**BLOW AT MORALE:** The **Daily Express** reported that the British government was concerned that the U.S. would withdraw from Loch on the theory that the base's strategic advantages were being negated by the effect of persistent hostility on the crew's morale. The government, the **Express** added, feared a withdrawal would be hailed as a victory for the "communists." The paper said the U.S. is certain to ask for stronger measures to prevent further incidents.

Most of the British press, like its American counterpart, would like to portray the demonstrators as a small minority, mainly communists, but the British government and the American authorities know better. The first of the great demonstrations against the Holy Loch base—the rally was at nearby Dunoon—was organized officially by the Labor Party, the trade unions and the Cooperative Movement in Glasgow.

**PROTESTS MADE:** Every major trade union which has discussed the issue has recorded opposition to the base, and the Scottish Trade Union Congress voted overwhelmingly for its removal. There is no doubt that, whatever modifications may be made in the policy of opposition to unilateral nuclear disarmament at the conferences of the British TUC and the Labor Party next autumn, both will condemn the Polaris base.

Despite strong rank-and-file union support for ending nuclear alliances and ousting foreign bases, the right-wing Labor Party leadership backs the government's cold war policies. The Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Union of Distributive Workers are supporting a compromise statement opposing nuclear alliances. This statement does not go as far as the Scarborough decisions of last year, but it has been violently opposed by both Hugh Gaitskell, the Labor Party leader, and his deputy, George Brown.

**HOSTILITY GROWS:** The Holy Loch demonstrations came at a time when the British people were realizing not only the overshadowing threat of nuclear war, but the paramount responsibility of the U.S. government for the dangerous world situation. Even the right-wing press has been commenting on the role of the U.S. in Laos and the reports of U.S. military officials' conspiring with the French rebel generals in Algeria. These events, added to the attempted invasion of Cuba, have created a wave of hostility to U.S. policy in Britain which neither the government nor the Gaitskell Labor leadership will be able to hold back.



**BERTRAND RUSSELL**
*Bigger demonstrations due*

During a visit to Dunoon, I recently had a chance to talk to officials of the town, local people and American sailors. There is a potentially dangerous situation. In the main, the Americans are being shown every friendship, and those local people and visitors who bitterly oppose the base usually go out of their way to explain to the sailors that there is no personal hostility. But some Americans invite hostility. One miner told me a sailor pointed across the Loch to the submarine George Washington and exclaimed, "That's the city killer."

**THE BOYS ASHORE:** Most of the men from the submarines and the Proteus are bewildered. They cannot understand why the British do not welcome them as saviors. Some miners attending an education course tried to discuss international affairs with them. The sailors were not unwilling, but they appeared ignorant of anything beyond the slogan that they were there to stop "the Commies."

As far as I could gather, U.S. authorities are doing nothing to help the men find contacts and interests during their stay. The men come ashore with little to do except drink, go to local dances or cinemas and look for girls.

Dunoon relies on a summer season when thousands of holiday makers provide much of the town's revenue. The general feeling is that though the sailors are bringing in money, a few incidents—such as the sight of a drunken U.S. sailor lurching round with a girl—will soon destroy the town's reputation as a quiet holiday center.

# Russell blames West in arms race

LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL has authorized publication of a lecture, prepared just before his recent illness, in which he flatly placed responsibility for the failure to reach a disarmament agreement on the Western powers.

Explaining the policy of the Committee of 100, which he heads, he wrote:

"We want multilateral disarmament but we think that British unilateral disarmament is the most effective step that Britain can make toward that end. We have been reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the West, at least, has not been sincere about disarmament, and has made only such offers as it was confident the East would reject. Only in 1955, the insincerity of the West was dramatically exposed. The West made some excellent proposals towards disarmament, but to the horror of the Western powers, the Soviet government accepted these proposals, whereupon the West at once withdrew them."

Russell pointed out that the Soviet Union is urging complete and speedy nuclear disarmament, said this had made western circles angry, since they cannot see how to resist it without giving Russia a great propaganda advantage.

He suggested the neutral powers be invited to draw up a disarmament scheme. He concluded: "Is it not obvious that this talk of nuclear war is a mad, monstrous nightmare imposed on the world mainly by bands of fanatical lunatics? Why should we think it necessary to fight? The Russians offer universal nuclear disarmament, with adequate inspection. They are willing to accept co-existence. The West prefers to invent elaborate schemes of scientific horror."

McCARTHY'S VICTIM

# Physician wins an 8-year fight on Army rank

IT TOOK EIGHT YEARS, but a Federal court has finally set the record straight for one victim of Joe McCarthy's war against the Army. The five-man U.S. Court of Claims in Washington ruled unanimously on June 7 that Dr. Marvin S. Belsky of New York shall be paid the difference between a captain's and a private's pay for the 19 months he served as a doctor in the Army between 1953 and 1955.

Dr. Belsky was inducted into the Army under the doctors' special draft act just after earning his medical degree. He was denied a commission because he declined on constitutional grounds to answer some of the questions on the Army application form. The Army nevertheless put him to work doctoring at Murphy General Hospital at Waltham, Mass.

**1954 PROBE:** Murphy Hospital was near a top-secret radar project and that made Dr. Belsky a natural target for McCarthy because, the Senator said, he was "in a position to constantly contact patients" working at the secret installation. He was called before the McCarthy subcommittee in March, 1953, and used the Fifth Amendment 30 times against questions about his beliefs and associations. When the Army refused to court-martial Dr. Belsky and drum him out of the ranks, his name became a symbol in McCarthy's general charge that the Army coddled reds.

Dr. Belsky was promoted from PFC to corporal, but that action was reversed by an assistant secretary of the Army, who officially reprimanded the colonel responsible.

McCarthy increased his attacks on Dr. Belsky as his Army hitch neared its end. In January, 1955, McCarthy demanded that Army Secy. Robert T. Stevens give Belsky a dishonorable discharge, but Stevens answered that "extensive investigation failed to support a determination that Belsky was disloyal or subversive."

**ON PRINCIPLE:** On Feb. 4 Belsky was discharged "under honorable conditions." He told reporters that day that he was not a Communist, but had refused on principle to answer questions about his politics.

He and his lawyer, Stanley Faulkner, kept up the fight. In November, 1956, the office of the Adjutant General of the Army upgraded Belsky's "character of separation" from "under honorable conditions" to "honorable." This month the Court of Claims upgraded his Army rank to that of captain with a captain's pay.

Dr. Belsky said of the decision: "I didn't want the money; I wanted the rights that were due me. I certainly think of this as final vindication. . . . If I'm still newsworthy, I'm glad it's as another blow to whatever vestiges of McCarthyism remain."

**Help your friends become as informed as you are—send them a sub—$1 for 13 wks.**

## People on the march in Japan

**The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as Clellan Mackay's description of the recent mass demonstrations in Japan, on page 7, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.**

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# On foreign policy

*(Continued from Page 1)*

larations favoring "social revolution" in Latin America coupled with attempts to smash its actual appearance in Cuba. In the same area, an "Alliance for Progress" really offers an economic program piddling in amount and merely palliative in effect.

**BASIC IDEA:** The basic attachment of the Kennedy team to the status quo, was made clear during the election campaign with a key word many progressives failed to weigh properly. That word was "commitments."

Abu in the Observer, London

It was Kennedy's constantly reiterated foreign-policy pledge that he would stand by "our commitments," as if this were tantamount to political virtue. But a nation's commitments abroad are not immutable standards of conduct. They are of the very flux of international events and shifting relations, and an outdated virtue, in politics and diplomacy, can become a vice.

The bulk of present U.S. "commitments" around the world were the personal handiwork of two Secretaries of State history is not likely to treat kindly—Dean Acheson and John Foster Dulles—and into many of the "agreements" our own allies had to be dragged kicking and screaming. These accords and policies include SEATO, Formosa, ostracism of China, the Baghdad pact, stand-patism on Berlin and subservience to Adenauer in Central Europe, much of our NATO policy, foreign aid oriented to corrupt dictatorships, financing of Spain's Franco, hostility toward neutralist regimes in Africa and Asia, rejection, in effect, of disarmament, and —in sum—an inflexible and total commitment to deep-freezing the cold war.

**BUILT-IN DANGER:** This, as that veteran trouper on the world stage, the British Foreign Office, is anxious for Washington to comprehend, adds up to a containment policy designed by amateur fanatics: whereas the traditional balance-of-power edifice possesses the built-in flexibility of a storm-proof skyscraper, the U.S. model is built like an old pressure cooker with the lid clamped tight and no safety valve to let off steam.

New pressures make the lid of his old Dulles cooker a hot seat for JFK. The worst of them has already started to bubble. With the West Germans moving within flashburn range of obtaining nuclear weapons and with volatile West Berlin and German irridentism threatening the peace, the Soviet-bloc states of Eastern Europe insist on a treaty demilitarizing and neutralizing West Berlin and legally fixing the German borders. The Khrushchev plan, which the British consider negotiable, does not require recognition of East Germany, nor withdrawal of Western forces from Berlin, nor retirement of Bonn from NATO. It calls for continued western access to Berlin and suggests UN supervision of a free-city Berlin as perhaps preferable to four-power occupation.

**PRESSURE IS ON:** The response of the Administration thus far has been to trumpet repeatedly its "commitment" to the "free people" of Berlin and to talk of war if access routes are closed. What better guarantee that this will not happen than to invest guardianship in the UN? Since it is more likely to happen if the Soviet Union signs a separate peace treaty with the East Germans, pressure is building up for Kennedy (Canada, Britain, Sen. Mike Monroney, Walter Lippmann, to name a few) to ignore the intransigence of Adenauer and de Gaulle and, within the tradition of balance-of-power diplomacy, negotiate a new German settlement.

If the gravest single threat of war is to be averted, this is the path Kennedy must eventually take. As Lippmann has pointed out, the status quo has become more dangerous than change.

The same is now true of Latin America. For a decade and a half Washington has been able, chiefly via dictator regimes, to divert insistent Latin economic demands by raising the Red scare and making unfulfilled promises of large-scale aid. Kennedy is still trying both tactics. But today Castroism has destroyed their effectiveness. The lid can no longer be held on, as Stevenson found on his tour (see p. 1).

David Lawrence

**Summit Talk Could Be Harmful**

Drew Pearson

**Vienna Meet Should Be Helpful**

Santa Barbara News Press
Same paper, same day, June 6, 1961

**THE DILEMMA:** The only way to head off explosion is for the U.S. to embark at the forthcoming hemisphere economic conference in Uruguay on a fundamental scheme for Latin industrialization. The "Alianza para Progresso" (alliance for progress) must have this content or be demolished in a chain reaction of upheavals. Yet it must be carried out over the dead bodies of the men of property who have always controlled our Latin American policy.

Here again, however, the status quo presents worse problems to U.S. policy-makers than change. To the slum-dwellers of the western hemisphere, the Mud Row Doctrine is finished; and this is the course Kennedy must eventually pursue if he would avoid new revolutions.

One other major threat to the status quo adds to the Kennedy quandary: disarmament. Since June, 1946, the U.S. has introduced every conceivable stratagem to avoid agreement on total disarmament. Kennedy envisioned a nuclear test-ban treaty as a method of postponing the main show indefinitely. Now that the possibility for such an accord is vanishing, he must face a scheduled (July 31) new disarmament conference under more pressure than ever from the Socialist and neutralist worlds to come to grips with disarmament.

**CHINA POLICY:** At Vienna Premier Khrushchev pulled the rug from under the status quo policy on disarmament. He gave Kennedy a memorandum declaring: "The Soviet government, on its part, is willing unconditionally to accept any [Western blueprint] for general and complete disarmament." Handed such a carte blanche, how long can the new Administration fiddle around with ploys by the McCloys while the world burns with atomic fuses? As each day passes the status quo becomes more threatening than change, and sooner or later Kennedy will have to make a substantive move on disarmament.

It is too early to tell whether 1961 will be China-entry year at the UN. But the chances are good. This is a situation a clever statesman would turn to his own advantage—by switching policy before it is forcibly switched for him. Astuteness is probably the outstanding attribute the Harvard men in Washington have yet to reveal, but a new look in our China doctrine is also pressing on Kennedy.

What do these world problems add up to? Liberalism is on trial. It cut its teeth on Cuba—and if ours were a British-style system, its leader would by this time have joined Sir Anthony Eden in precipitate retirement. Instead, he gets a chance to recoup its fortunes. The way —in Berlin, in Uruguay, in Geneva, in Laos, in the UN—lies broad and open before him. At the moment, unfortunately not able to focus clearly along this open and inviting road, Kennedy has decided on a crash program to reach the moon.

# Lawyers denounce U. S. policy on Cuba

A LEGAL BRIEF, signed by 132 lawyers, contending that the invasion of Cuba involved violations of U.S. laws and international obligations by Cuban exiles and U.S. agents, was sent to President Kennedy last month. The brief supported a petition to the President and Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, which urged that U.S. policy toward Cuba should be brought into conformity with international law and called for an investigation of "apparent violations" of U.S. neutrality laws.

Among the signers was Arthur Larson, former director of the U.S. Information Agency and former special assistant to President Eisenhower. In a letter of assent, Larson wrote: "If this Cuban invasion is not instantly recognized and condemned as the worst setback to law in our international relations in this century, I am afraid there is danger of the world rule of law movement beginning to look like a facade."

Other signers include four former judges and law professors at Amherst, Tulane, Cornell, Chicago and Wisconsin universities. Organizers of the petition and brief were Profs. Thomas Emerson and Fowler Harper of Yale Law School and Leo J. Linder and Abraham Pomerantz, New York attorneys.

The brief cited "persistent and disturbing" reports that the CIA helped the invasion. It said such activities violated U.S. treaties with Cuba and such international agreements as the UN Charter, the charter of the Organization of American States and six inter-American treaties and declarations.

## Bklyn. Peace Groups to hold meeting on Cuba June 28

THE BROOKLYN Council of Peace Groups will hold a meeting on Cuba at Leonardo da Vinci Hall, 350 Flatbush Ave. Extension at 8 p.m. Wednesday, June 28. Speakers will be Richard Gibson, executive sec'y, Fair Play for Cuba Committee; William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore **Afro-American**, and James Higgins, asst. editor of the York (Pa.) **Gazette and Daily**. Folk Singer Pete Seeger will entertain. John T. McManus, general manager of the GUARDIAN, will be chairman.


# A Good Time For a Good Cause

**. . . At the 7th Annual All-Nations Picnic of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Sunday, June 25, at Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J.**

PICNIC MENU

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Barbecued chicken (whole) | $2.00 | Hamburger | .25 |
| Barbecued chicken (quarter) | .60 | Frankfurter | .15 |
| Barbecued lamb (1 lb.) | 2.25 | Watermelon | .15 |
| Barbecued lamb (sandwich) | .60 | Corn on the Cob | .15 |
| Hungarian goulash | 1.00 | Ice Cream | .15 |
| Shashlik | 1.00 | Soda (can) | .15 |
| Barbecued Spare Ribs (1 lb.) | 1.00 | Fresh Fruit drink | .10 |
| Fresh Ham sandwich | .60 | Milk or Hot Coffee | .10 |
| Romanian Steak sandwich | .60 | Homemade Strudel | .25 |
| Cuban arroz con pollo | 1.00 | | |

AT 3 P.M. HEAR:

Washington Attorney Joseph Forer

*"Recent Supreme Court Decisions and Civil Liberties"*

Professor Louise Pettibone Smith

*"Democracy and Peace"*

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ADVERTISEMENT

# An Open Letter To The American People

***"When the practice of outlawing parties and various public groups begins, no one can say where it will end."***

**—Associate Justice Hugo L. Black of the Supreme Court**

## Fellow-Americans:

**Your constitutional rights, your security and welfare, have been placed in mortal danger by decisions of a one-vote majority in the Supreme Court in two so-called anti-Communist cases on June 5, 1961.**

By a 5 to 4 vote (including Justice Tom Clark, who should have disqualified himself as the Attorney General who first indicted Communist leaders in 1948 under the Smith Act) the Court has now imperilled the rights of **all** Americans.

For the first time in America's history, voluntary associations are made subject to licensing by the Federal government, and activity on behalf of a legal political party is to be treated as a crime. This is the meaning of the registration requirements of the McCarran Act of 1950 and the membership clause of the Smith Act of 1940, both of which were upheld by the Supreme Court majority.

As a result:

- **The Communist Party of the U.S.A. is ordered to register as an "action organization" described in the law as an agent of a foreign power promoting a conspiracy based on espionage, sabotage, terrorism and other heinous crimes. As such it is required to list publicly its officers and members.**

- **Persons described as "active" Communists can be jailed on testimony it was their "intent" to bring about that forcible overthrow of the government.**

Under the McCarran Act a body of appointed government officials, the Subversive Activities Control Board, is given the right to decide who may or who may not voluntarily associate themselves in any organization. The Board may decide this, moreover, purely on the basis of the legislative "findings" of guilt in the Act itself. The accused is denied the right to trial.

At the same time these laws make it possible to attach the false designation of "action organization" or "front" to political parties, peace groups, labor unions, Negro organizations and a wide variety of civic bodies. After that, their members are deprived of many rights. They become subject to criminal prosecution unless they accede to public self-denunciation as traitors to their country or join the anti-Communist witch hunt.

Failure to comply with the registration order carries the fantastic penalty of a five-year prison sentence and a $10,000 fine **for each day of such failure.**

• • • •

IN HITLER GERMANY a special group, the Jews, were singled out and compelled to wear a yellow arm band with the Star of David. In the U.S. today—unless the McCarran and Smith Acts are nullified—organizations which refuse to conform to the views of the powers-that-be are likewise to be compelled to bear a government-designed brand.

Under the labeling provision of the McCarran Act even the Declaration of Independence or the Bible—if distributed by a group branded by the S.A.C.B. as a "Communist action" organization—would be required to bear on their covers a label designating them as Communist propaganda.

Any group can under the McCarran Act be designated as a "Communist front" organization and be forced to register and suffer similar sanctions if it merely took a position which the SACB regarded as paralleling a position of the Communist Party.

Nor is organized labor immune. More than once, unions have been branded by courts as conspiracies seeking illegal ends. Today they are shackled by the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts which subject them to close government control. From here it is not a long step to their inclusion in a "Communist front" dragnet.

Once labelled, an organization's members become liable by that very act to prosecution under the individual membership clause of the Smith Act—a built-in unconstitutional self-incrimination device. Clearly, the Communist Party cannot go along with such un-American practices, no more than can militant trade unions or the embattled Southern chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people when faced with like demands.

• • • •

THE COURT MAJORITY'S disregard of traditional constitutional rights rests basically on two stale fraudulent arguments: that the Communists are foreign agents and that they advocate the forceful overthrow of our government.

The "foreign agent" canard has been used by reaction throughout our history to divide popular movements and discredit dissenters. Thomas Jefferson and his followers were labeled "Jacobins," agents of the French Revolution. Sen. Robert La Follette and other loyal Americans were assailed as "pro-German" because they opposed our entrance into World War I. And have not our Catholic fellow-Americans, in and out of public life, been slanderously hounded as loyal to a foreign power, the Vatican?

*Yet the truth is that in the entire 42-year history of the Communist Party not a single member has been convicted or even indicted as a foreign agent or for engaging in sabotage or treason. Nor has a single member ever been convicted of an act of force directed against our government.*

To discard cherished democratic American rights in the name of "fighting communism" can only disgrace our nation. It places us in the company of fascist nations like Spain and Portugal and military dictatorships like the Dominican Republic and South Korea (and of the neo-Nazi dominated West Germany.) Only such undemocratic countries resort to extraordinary laws banning the Communist Parties. Significantly, in those countries where McCarthyite type of reaction does not rule—England, France, Holland, Sweden, Belgium, Italy, etc.—Communists have normal legal rights as part of the political community. Indeed, Communist Parties today exist as entirely legal organizations in scores of countries throughout the world.

The McCarran Act was jammed through Congress on September 30, 1950, in the Korean War hysteria over the veto of President Truman. In his veto message President Truman warned:

> **". . . these [registration] provisions are not merely ineffective and unworkable. They represent a clear and present danger to our institutions."**

These words were not heeded, and the Act, with its fantastic registration provisions which would require the Party's officers to be informers for a police dragnet, was passed. But this cannot and will not happen. There will be no betrayal of the confidence of a single member or supporter of the party or any organization or trade union.

The Communist Party will defend its right to a legal existence under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights as a legitimate current in American political life, a movement that can trace its history back a full century into our history, from the Communists who supported Lincoln and the Union through the old Socialist Party. The Communist Party has taken legal steps to request a re-hearing by the Supreme Court and will exhaust every resource to halt the oppression of these iniquitous laws and their dire consequences for the liberties of all Americans.

At the same time the Communist Party will place its case before the highest court of all, the bar of public opinion. For we have profound confidence in the great democratic traditions of our land and are fully convinced that the Court's 5-4 decisions of June 5 will yet be reversed by a popular majority.

We recall that a Supreme Court majority once held in the Dred Scott case that a Negro had no rights that a white man was bound to respect—and that this decision was swept away and that the 13th, 14th and 15 Amendments were added to our Constitution. We recall that another court in the infamous **Plessy v. Ferguson** decision decreed the pernicious "separate but equal" doctrine of segregation—and that this, too, was later swept away. And we recall that in President Roosevelt's time a reactionary majority decreed against New Deal laws—only to be swept aside by the popular will.

• • • •

WE HAVE A PROFOUND confidence in the American people. We are proud of those in the American tradition—Abolitionists, trade unionists, liberals, Negro leaders—who contributed so much to the democratic struggle and never flinched before threats of prosecution, jail or terror. Today's Freedom Riders are in that great tradition.

Sharing that heritage, we Communists face the future calmly. Neither the Palmer Raids of the World War I period nor the persecutions of the McCarthy era succeeded in destroying the Communist movement. Nowhere in the world has fascism, terror or repression accomplished that aim. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. will survive and the struggle for peace, security, democracy and a socialist order ending the exploitation of man by man will survive—and grow.

It is not for ourselves alone that we speak. For we know full well that reactionary laws like the McCarran and Smith Acts have an evil purpose and a relentless logic and that in nation after nation the destruction of the democratic rights of all began with the attack "only" on the Communists. Inevitably the assault spread and sought to destroy all who stood for peace, economic security and democratic rights—the trade unions, Socialists, the Jews, the liberals.

That is why we say to all our fellow-Americans, irrespective of political faith: The bell tolls not for the Communists alone but for the hard-won rights of all Americans. All must act together to save American constitutional liberties.

**Speak up! Speak up today as an individual or through your organization.**

**Let the President, the Attorney General and Congress know that America wants an end to these fascist-like laws. America does not want to go down the road to concentration camps and a garrison state. Americans want to maintain their constitutional rights to proceed in their own way towards their own new frontiers through the political parties and voluntary organizations of their own free choice.**

National Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A.
23 West 26th St., New York 10, N.Y.

FEDERAL WAVERING BLAMED IN INTEGRATION LAG

# Assemblyman Lane tells of his Freedom Ride

By Joanne Grant

NEW YORK STATE Assemblyman Mark Lane, on his return from the Jackson, Miss., jail, terminus of an integrated bus ride through Southern states, blamed the lack of decisive action by the Federal government for the slow pace of desegregation.

Lane told the Guardian: "Many white Southerners told me that if the Federal government would take a consistent and firm stand, they would comply.

"This was lacking in the first 100 days," Lane said.

The Assemblyman said Southern whites fall into three groups: a small group which believes in integration, a small minority which believes in using violence to defend segregation and a third and largest group which accepts segregation, but wants no part of violence. Though the majority goes along with segregation, Lane said, it would comply with the integration law if the Federal government showed that it was determined and consistent.

**WIRES UNANSWERED:** Lane had wired Atty. Gen. Kennedy before he and Percy Sutton, Negro president of the Manhattan branch of the NAACP, flew to Atlanta, Ga., at the start of their five-day observation of inter-racial travel facilities. The telegram asked Federal protection. Lane sent a second wire notifying the Attorney General of their scheduled arrival in Jackson, Miss., from Montgomery, Ala. "I never received a reply," he said. "When I was campaigning for his brother he returned every phone call," Lane said.

There was evidence of some Federal reaction, however. Lane and Sutton were followed by three men whom they presumed to be Federal agents from the moment they arrived in Atlanta.

At a press conference in New York the Attorney General, when asked why he had not replied to Lane's wires, said: "I sent in agents."

**EARLY TROUBLE:** Lane said their first difficulties in the South came when they tried to get a taxi in Atlanta. They finally succeeded in getting one to take them to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee office. The white driver said he didn't know the "nigger" neighborhood. "It was our first fifteen minutes in the South, and we had run smack into it," Lane said.

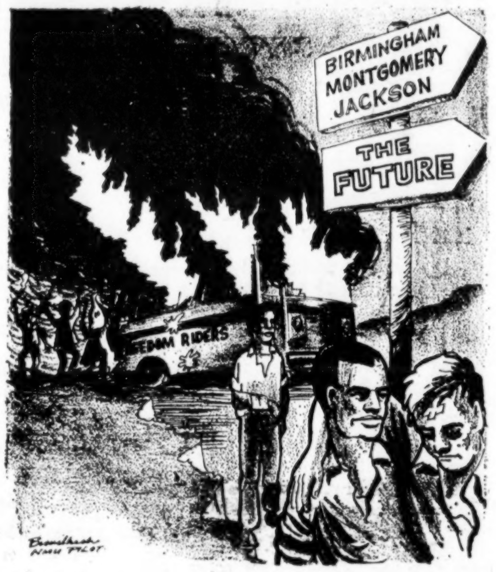
The trip from Atlanta to Montgomery was a tense one, Lane said. Every station was heavily guarded by state and local police. The three agents sat separately at the front, middle and back of the bus. "It was discouraging to see all the Negroes who got on go straight to the back, and all the whites sit at the front," Lane said. "Yet, at one small town in Georgia a Negro woman sat at the front, a Negro woman moved from the back to join her, and no one seemed to notice—except Percy and me."

**BOYCOTT STORIES:** At Montgomery the travelers spent several hours listening to stories of the 1956 bus boycott. "The Negro community is united and courageous," Lane said. "Montgomery is tense, but probably the most exciting place to be in this country. Those five days in the South were the most encouraging days of my life."

Lane and Sutton expect to return to Jackson soon to appeal their four-month sentences (two months suspended) and $200 fines for "breach of the peace." They seek to enjoin state and city officials from interfering with future integrated travel and plan to sue for false arrest. The treatment of Lane and Sutton by whites in Jackson varied from the coolness of the judge who refused to accept cash for the appeal bond (a bondsman had to be flown in from Louisiana) to the friendliness of a newsman who said: "I agree with everything you say, and I just want you to know there are some of us in the South who do."

**HOSTILE QUERIES:** In New York the returned travelers met unexpected hostility at a press conference. They were interrupted as they answered several questions. One was: "Who paid your way down there?" Another, directed to Lane, was: "Didn't you go there to make a big hit with the Negro voters in your district?" Lane said that the largest group in his district is Irish, and that Negroes form the sixth largest group. "That question was raised by the prosecutor during our trial," he said.

A Negro reporter, angered by the exchanges, asked: "How would you feel if your daughter married a Negro, Mr. Sutton?" Sutton replied: "I would have to insist that she loved him."




NMU Pilot, New York

**A pause along the road**

GETTING WORRIED?

## Eastland links Freedom Rides to 'Red plot'

IF NO OTHER RECENT event has shown it, the experience of the Freedom Riders reveals clearly that no line can be drawn between civil rights and civil liberties. At first the Riders were called outside agitators and provocateurs; now, in the U.S. Senate, they have been dubbed agents of the "Communist conspiracy."

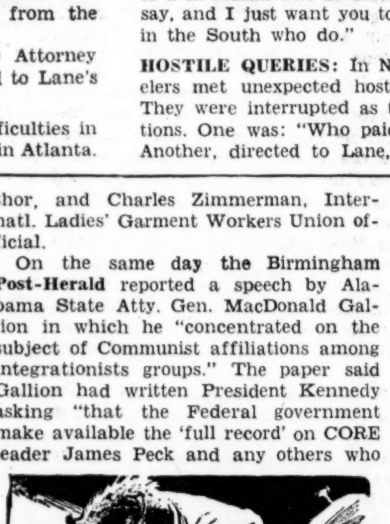
The charge was made by Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in a speech May 25.

Eastland said the Freedom Riders were "agents provocateurs who have descended upon the Southern states in the name of 'peace riders' . . . sent for the sole purpose of stirring up discord, strife, and violence. 'Peace riders' is a revered Communist term, an old Communist technique. The movement was masterminded and directed by an organization known as the Congress of Racial Equality, called CORE . . . its tactics have followed the pattern set by Communist agitators the world over."

**PECK ASSAILED:** The Senator called James Peck, editor of the CORE publication, **Corelator,** who was brutally beaten on the first Freedom Ride in Anniston and Birmingham, Ala., "a Communist agitator and organizer of the most dangerous kind."

Eastland cited a report by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover on A. J. Muste, pacifist leader and CORE supporter, which said Muste "has long fronted for Communists." He used records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to attack CORE supporters, Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union; Algernon Black, director, Ethical Culture Society; Earl Dickerson, Chicago attorney; A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president; Walter Reuther, president, United Auto Workers; Lillian Smith, author, and Charles Zimmerman, Internatl. Ladies' Garment Workers Union official.

On the same day the Birmingham **Post-Herald** reported a speech by Alabama State Atty. Gen. MacDonald Gallion in which he "concentrated on the subject of Communist affiliations among integrationists groups." The paper said Gallion had written President Kennedy asking "that the Federal government make available the 'full record' on CORE leader James Peck and any others who have participated in the events leading up to the serious breach of state sovereignty by Federal forces." A similar charge was made by Raleigh, N.C., solicitor John M. Walker on the eve of a Freedom Ride. He urged Raleigh citizens and "lawful visitors" to keep their conduct above reproach "so that the real troublemakers and their mistaken or subversive leaders and advisers may be detected and ultimately exposed for what they are."




Hugh Haynie in the Courier-Journal

**"Me, Ah'm testin' th' right of international travel."**

**OTHER VIOLATIONS:** The smear, indiscriminately applied by Southern segregationists to whom the files of the Eastland committee and the HUAC are readily available, is only one of many invasions of civil liberties. There have been countless violations by the police and the courts.

In Birmingham, plainclothes detectives attend every meeting of Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth's Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. The Freedom Riders and their supporters were arrested on charges of breaching the peace and refusal to move on. Rev. Shuttlesworth was charged with conspiracy to provoke violence and convicted on two charges of breach of the peace. Of his trial Shuttlesworth wrote in the New York **Courier,** June 17: "Sure enough, it was apparent to anybody in court that I had to be convicted in Conway's court . . . When I invoked the 5th Amendment, he said it made no difference . . . Everybody was shouting for a scapegoat and I was it."

The aftermath of the Freedom Rides brought the arrest of Shuttlesworth as the man "responsible," but it also produced sober reflection by many community leaders. The Birmingham **Post-Herald** reported May 22 that sermons of a number of leading clergymen had the theme: "We have been silent too long." The Tuscaloosa County Ministerial Assn. called on "responsible, thinking people in our community and state to come to the fore and to take a vocal stand which will create an atmosphere of good will [so that race relations can be] discussed in calmness and worked out with wisdom."

**SURVEY OF PRESS:** A **Post-Herald** survey of 40 Southern newspapers concluded: "If any consensus can be extracted from the more than 100 editorials written concerning the Riders, it is this: Stronger police action—either protection or arrest—should have shielded the travelers from the mob."

By far the most serious search for a solution was that of the business community. The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, the Downtown Improvement Assn. and the Committee of 100 (a business group) agreed to enlarge an already existing joint study commission to include race relations and to bring Negroes into the commission. The Washington **Post,** June 14, pointed out that this was the first time that community leaders had gone on record against violence as a way to enforce strict segregation.

**TRADE PRESSURE:** The **Wall Street Journal** reported May 26: "Some Alabama businessmen report they have already run into instances of firms dropping or reconsidering plans to set up operations in the state, because of the racial disturbances. Southern concern over the economic impact of racial tensions isn't confined to Alabama." Most Southern businessmen remember Little Rock, where, the **Wall Street Journal** noted, "industrial development skidded to a halt after the flare-up over school integration in 1957."

Meanwhile the Freedom Riders continued to head for Jackson, Miss., and other points. Two groups of students have left California en route to Jackson via New Orleans, where they will attend a non-violent direct action workshop.

Two other groups left Washington, D.C., June 13 to test facilities in Florida. The first, a group of 18 Protestant ministers and rabbis, were served at all stops except Lake City, Fla., and the Tallahassee, Fla., airport, where they staged a sit-in for 12 hours. Ten of the group were arrested, then released in $500 bonds, to await trial. The others had flown to New York to meet with Morris Strassman, vice president of the Union News Co., operator of the airport restaurant. Strassman told the clergymen that the company's Southern division director would be sent to Tallahassee and that either the restaurant would be desegregated or the company would give up control.

**OTHER ARRESTS:** Of the second group—made up of professionals, students and trade unionists—three had been arrested at Ocala, Fla., and released in $1,000 bonds.

Of a total of 121 arrested thus far in Mississippi, 86 are still in jail. Over 50 men have been transferred to the state penitentiary at Parchman. Thurgood Marshall and two other NAACP attorneys have filed a suit in the U.S. district court to stop the arrests. Named as defendants are Mississippi Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson, the City of Jackson, Mayor Allen Thompson and bus and rail companies. Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy said at a New York press conference June 14 that though the Riders have a legal right to make the trips, Freedom Rides do not make "a great deal of sense" in advancing the cause of desegregation. He said he would like to see the issue "settled in the courts, not in the streets."

MIGHTY DEMONSTRATIONS BLOCK ACTION IN DIET

# Japan's people on march: How Ikeda bill was balked

**THE COPS GET TOUGH, MANHANDLE THE STUDENTS**
*Hundreds were injured as the police clubs smashed down*

By Clellan Mackay
Special to the Guardian

TOKYO

EVEN TO THIS writer, a veteran observer of political demonstrations, the situation in Tokyo looked precarious. On the night of June 6, around Shimbashi Station near the heart of the city, several thousand organized opponents of the "anti-violence" bill were staging a sitdown strike against the arrest of union members. In a deafening battle of loudspeakers, railway workers countered police efforts to disperse the crowd. Would the "anti-violence" side (the Government) use violence?

"We'll sit here until the prisoners are released!" the workers said. Seated on newspapers, they ate rice balls, chatted, sang songs and chanted slogans. "Seibcho Hanta!" (Down with the political anti-violence bill); this was their big beef, and there were 70,000 on the Tokyo streets in protest. There were other issues, too: "Down with the Ikeda Cabinet! Protect our Constitution! Stop Ikeda's trip to Washington! (He arrived June 20.) Abolish the Military Treaty!"

Paradoxically, the fascistic ultra-nationalists against whom the anti-violence bill had supposedly been aimed, were absent; they support the bill, tacitly at least.

**FANTASTIC SCENE:** Harassed taxi drivers added to the din as they blew their horns, seeking a path through the masses of humanity. Passersby in the night-life quarters watched curiously. Pretty girls in kimonos, or in modern western clothes; pachinko players drawn from their pinball machines; American tourists, construction workers and plainclothesmen. The exhortations of an agitator were interrupted by a sigh of admiration as a shapely stripteuse, revealingly draped in ostrich feathers, appeared from nowhere and made her way to the entrance of a cabaret.

At 10.30 p.m. the Shimbashi protest seemed to be settling down for a long sit, so we decided to go to the National Diet, over a mile away. In the intervening streets thousands of police made the section looks like a battlefront. The area around the Diet was jammed. Several hundred Zengakuren students were attempting a sitdown at a side entrance (near the spot where the student Michiko Kamba was killed by police last year).

**POLICE BRUTAL:** The cops are tougher this year, and 8,000 had been mobilized for this critical day and evening, when the Bill for the Prevention of Political Violence was to be rammed through the Upper House and made into law. There had been many arrests of student and labor leaders; police violence had flared not only in Tokyo but in Kyoto, where hundreds of demonstrators had been injured a few days before.

The police sailed into the Diet sitdowners. Clubs smashed on shoulders and skulls of girls as well as boys, and rocks flew. Cops fired flares over the heads of angry crowds. Resisters were dragged away and pushed through a gamut of helmeted gendarmes. Ambulance sirens screamed. After an hour of struggle, the tens of thousands of demonstrators were forced to "get moving." Singing defiantly, they marched to join their comrades at Shimbashi.

**IKEDA ON SPOT:** Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda was on the spot. Under sharp attack from the Left, he was also under pressure from the extreme right wing of his own party to get tough with labor and the radicals. With the June visit to Washington scheduled, he needed to show he was in control of the situation. He took a chance and tried to railroad the anti-violence bill through the Diet, by tactics similar to those used by Kishi on the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty last year. Unlike Kishi, he couldn't put it across; but his failure may bring results as disastrous as those of Kishi's "success."

The bill, sponsored by the Tories and the Democratic Socialists, was drafted purportedly for the suppression of terrorism, the political instrument of ultranationalist gangs. However, belief was widespread that the bill was aimed at hamstringing political activity of Socialists, as part of the accelerating drive of the Government toward militarism and the suppression of democratic processes.

The measure not only would have punished persons violating its provisions, but could have been invoked against political parties and unions. "Competent authorities" could have suspended activities of designated organizations.

**TRICKERY IN VOTE:** The Socialists castigated the measure as an attempt to "legalize fascism." But the Tory party retorted that "democracy shall never succumb to violent acts." The Tories' concept of democratic politics was revealed in the way they forced Diet approval of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in May of 1960, by having police haul the Socialists out of the parliament bodily, and then passing the measure.

The new bill was passed in the lower chamber in a similar way, by trickery and force. After calming the opposition by pretending to abandon their plan of passing the bill in the session which ended June 8, the Tories called a surprise meeting of the House judicial committee. The chaos was compounded by the Socialists' strategy of occupying all the seats in the committee rooms. After a roughhouse game of musical chairs, the bill was "approved" near midnight on June 2, brought before the Lower House June 3 and passed without debate.

Debate, however, would have been impracticable in circumstances that resembled a rice riot. The speaker, Ichiro Kiyose, had to be hustled in by uniformed guards, and reportedly hid under a table while Tories battled Socialists. The Japan **Times** reported: "Fists flew, shirts and suits were ripped and Diet members grappled each other to the floor . . . As Diet guards and Dietmen flailed away, a second force of guards overwhelmed the Socialists, and set up a microphone relay over which Kiyose called the Tory members to the Diet and a vote." The Tories "passed" the bill by standing up and shouting "Banzai." No count was taken but the number of "votes" was estimated at 150 (**Yomiuri**) and 400 (Japan **Times**). The whole farce took seven minutes.

**SWIFT REACTION:** The next scheduled step was to steamroller the bill through the Upper House before the expiration of the session, three days away. It should have been a cinch. The progressives had been disunited. But this sudden threat to their freedoms brought prompt militancy against the bill. Alerted to the Tories' intention, they had more than 10,000 men and women on the streets within hours. Demonstrations were organized in major cities and it is probable that millions took part in protests throughout Japan. The newspapers, which had favored the bill, warned about "mass violence" (a semi-official term for popular demonstrations). However, the "violence" seemed to be largely a police response to non-violent action. The gendarmerie tried to prevent large aggregations from forming in the streets, diverting marchers from their courses, splitting up columns, blocking off strategic streets. In the main the marchers were cooperative.

Their mission at the Diet was to petition against the bill, and they were met at rear entrances by Socialist and Communist representatives who accepted their signatures. The police banned placards, banners and sound trucks and tried to stop the singing.

**NEW DEFIANCE:** While the Tokyo demonstrations had been orderly, the arrests and police brutality toward the sitdowners had stirred up the students. They recovered their banners and began to defy the police, blocking traffic, and chanting. The **Marseillaise** and the **Internationale** resounded in the street.

Midnight was approaching. Back at the Diet, preparations were being made to carry out the last stage of the parliamentary coup. The angry students were converging on Shimbashi, where we had been an hour earlier. Trouble was in the air.

There had been reports from UPI that rightist military elements planned a coup, as in Korea. Ikeda, anxious to make a good showing in Washington, was considered likely to clamp down hard. Was it going to be a showdown?

But when we came to Shimbashi, everything had changed. Permission for demonstrating extended until only 11 p.m. and that hour had passed. The sitdowners stood up ,sang a last song and moved along. Most of the militant columns of marchers folded their banners and dissolved. It was anticlimatic. It looked like another lost battle, and at a vital point.

**THE VICTORY:** But early next morning there was the almost incredible denouement. The bill was blocked in the Upper House. It seems that the earlier perversion of democracy had disgusted some of the councilors; or perhaps the public reaction had alarmed them. The President of the Upper House, Tsuruhei Matsuno, threatened to resign rather than see a repetition of the performance of the lower chamber. Supported by other councilors, he was able to bring some Tory members around to his view. Deliberations on the bill were postponed until the next session and may be dropped entirely.

It was a harsh blow for Ikeda, now in a weaker position with the factions of his party. And the weakened Democratic-Socialist Party, by collaborating in the plot, may have received a fatal thrust. The Socialists and most organized labor seized the initiative in a national movement against Ikeda's visit to Washington.

**TOKYO'S WORKERS AND STUDENTS SWING INTO DIRECT ACTION AGAINST ANTI-VIOLENCE BILL**
*100,000 join in the demonstrations to force government postponement of vote on repressive measure*

# M-26

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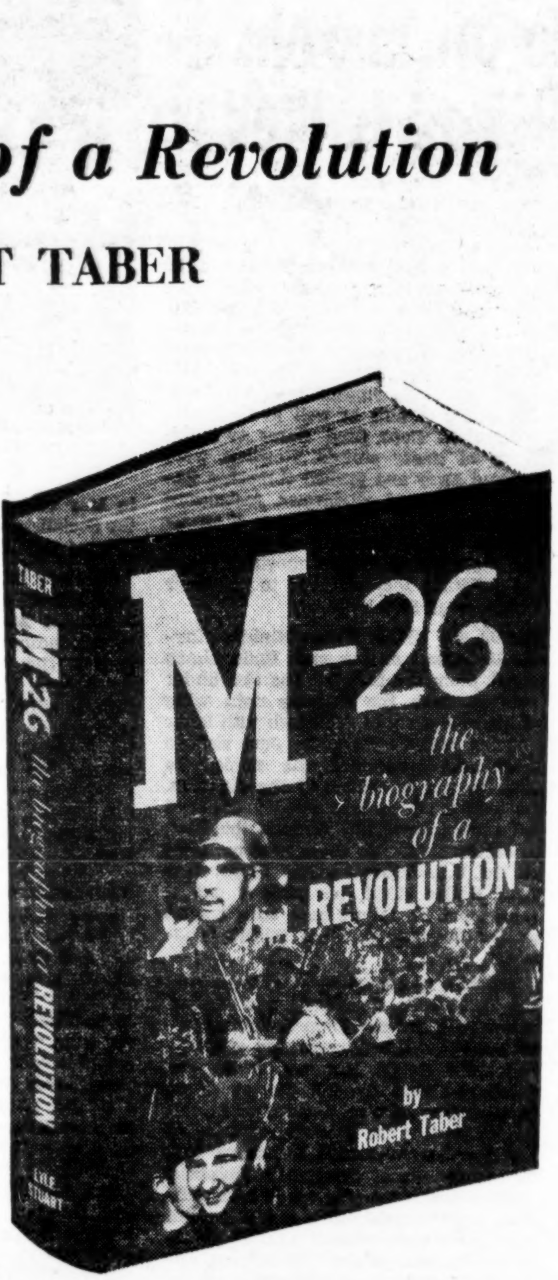
Taber's knowledge was not gleaned from the shores of Miami Beach or the briefing rooms in the State Department building in Washington, D.C. It is first-hand: he lived it. He is one of two CBS newsmen who went into Oriente Province to give the lie to Batista's claim that Fidel Castro was dead. At great personal peril they smuggled television equipment into the mountains, and Taber's documentary interview with Castro and the rebels is now history. It was an event that triggered a tremendous wave of new hope and support among Cubans for the Castro rebels.

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During the abortive CIA-sponsored "invasion" of Cuba by anti-Castro groups in April, 1961, Taber was again with the rebel army, and again in the midst of the shooting (he was wounded by a machine gun) and again the only American reporter to be on the scene.

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MEYERS' 'EARLY RAIN'

# New poet, fresh view

**ONCE IN a blue moon a book like this* comes along—a book in which everything seems to be done for the first time and done right. It is as if a chunk of experience which we thought we understood had received a new translation: Suddenly we become aware that the tired old magician of daily reality had another pack of cards up his sleeve all along.**

Put another way: The prose limits of Meyers' world—what he does for a living and what he has lived through—are familiar to most of us: a middle-class childhood, alienation, rejection of the Bourgeois City, some country and farm experience, return to the city as a worker and craftsman. All this is familiar. What he does with these themes is spare, surprising and just. The result is a book full of poems that are direct and sensuous, simple but revelatory. It is the best book of poems by a new poet in quite a while and is of the order of Gary Snyder's **Rip-Rap,** or Starbuck's **Bone Thoughts** or Philip Whalen's **Like I Say.**

What Meyers feels in the city are its displacements:

Because there's so much speed
Without any place to go . . .
I like the silly snail:
wrapped in its wooden fog
it crawls across my yard;
and where it goes, it paints
the ground with useless roads.

He "replaces" the city with:

Wind—and a mild army
of mustard runs uphill;
this town shakes in a shrub.

THIS IS ONE of the few aspects of the metropolis he likes: A view from which "I walk on the wild edge."

He exists, therefore, as a kind of interior escaper in the Bourgeois City—he has broken out of his cell but he can't get over the wall, as none of us can without collective effort. Meanwhile, aspects of the city reveal themselves and he records them with almost hallucinatory vividness: October that "spreads its leather in the sun;" the rainy season: "The iron rain, with little key/is closing all the doors"; the children where "the sidewalk's become/a mockingbird: Its long/grey throat full of children."

These are poems by a man who, as he says in his poem "Origin," "took a shell whose mask of tides/ was a refinement of the sea." His art has become just such a process of disciplining or "refining" the flux of things, and each of his poems is a condensed and dramatic emblem of an area of human experience.

**Not in things but in being**—not the Ark on Ararat, but the living sea—**that** is the source of poetry. Meyers is close to that source in more ways than one. Along with a handful of Angelino poets beside the scowling Pacific—Gene Frumkin, the Gershgorens, Cardona-Hine, Coulette, Keisel—he is doing some of the best work of the newest generation. A flock of odd birds. Disciples of Crazy Horse.

—L. S. O'Leary

* *EARLY RAIN, by Bert Meyers. Swallow Paperbooks, Denver. 75c.*

BOOKS

# People of Cuba

THE EYE AND EAR of a novelist have helped Warren Miller find Cuba in the Cubans. It is a new Cuba and the people too seem newborn. After a month's visit last December he wrote an unusual travel diary* prodigal with people, with the colors and scents of Cuba, and caught the mood and meaning of the revolution in the lives of ordinary folk. He caught, too, in some of his encounters the falsehood and futility of those who would turn the clock back. In contrast to the fashionable fictions to which our public has become accustomed, **90 Miles from Home** is truthful, creative reporting of a high order, with the evocativeness of a sensitive novel.

This was Miller's third trip to Cuba (the first was under Batista). He talks to workers, restaurant owners, businessmen, peasants, dispossessed landowners, soldiers, teachers, writers, actors, hairdressers, prostitutes, gamblers. A bookstore employe and his wife have just been assigned a five-room house after 19 years in a single room. "'Imagine it,' Senora Meana said, **'two bedrooms!'** . . . 'And a garden,' Meana said. 'Yesterday we went out there and began planting'." But the revolution does not consist merely of material improvements. Meana, the man who had never been interested in politics, sums it up: "Here is the most important thing: that now we work for ourselves, that now it is not taken away somewhere, to another country; just like we will now pay rent for twenty years and then we will own our house."

A BARBER WHO actively supports the new regime looks pained when he speaks of Manuel Ray, ex-cabinet member

Guerrero in Bohemia, Havana
**The worm charmer**

who is now a leading counter-revolutionary exile. "I don't know what happened to that young man. He seemed like such a nice boy." A waiter who was not for the revolution at the start tells Miller that "what really convinced me that this was a government that kept its promises was when I saw them making schools out of Batista's old army barracks." A Negro village school teacher: "Before the revolution I could not have sat here, or gone swimming in that pool, or slept in this hotel. It is unthinkable that there could be a Cuban Negro who is not for the revolution. Our whole lives have been transformed by it. In two years discrimination has been wiped out."

And the peasant mother for whom the promise of electricity and a new house with cement floors is a miracle; the beautician who says: "People like me are now able to hope;" the poets and novelists whom Miller meets and whose work he quotes—all these have the breath of life not only in themselves but as part of the keenly felt experience of an American writer.

THE BOOK ALSO gives us the pattern of classes that is Cuba today, the continuing conflict between old and new. We meet the disenchanted restaurant owner, Manolo, who at first was for Fidel, but now sees himself as part of a vanishing middle class, is filled with despair yet is "sure this whole thing will be over by the New Year."

There is an unforgettable portrait of the Ortega family, also ardent Fidelistas for a few days or a few weeks, now huddling **sans** sugar plantation and refinery in faded elegance, awaiting the deluge. The jaundiced characters Miller meets among the plotting exiles on his return to Miami are not difficult to recognize as those soon to become the "freedom fighters" of the Bay of Pigs.

The book is so good, so perceptively written that it is a pity the author did not resist the temptation to lean at times on the contrived and mannered. Some of Miller's experiences take the form of well turned vignettes, the people a bit too picturesque, the author a bit too bent on the witty anecdotal denouement. But these are peccadillos. **90 Miles from Home** ought to help strip off that wool over all too many North American eyes.

**—B. A. Leshem**

**90 MILES FROM HOME, by Warren Miller. Little, Brown & Co. 279 pp. $3.95.*

# Mixed-up kid in love

PUPPY LOVE is the theme of a first novel* by Russell F. Davis, a New England-born columnist and story writer. Told in the first person by 15-year-old Clarence Bascomb, it makes entertaining reading either with or without reference to implied good lessons based on current concepts in psychology and child-rearing.

Clarence, a crazy mixed-up kid if there ever was one, has school trouble, parent trouble and girl trouble. He tells all about them in frankest teenagese. Adult readers will chuckle over the honest report he gives on the agonies and frustrations of his first encounter with sex, a subject that even today many parents find difficult to discuss with their children.

Times change for teenagers as for others. Gone are the days when Tom Sawyer wrote "I love you" on Becky Thatcher's slate, kissed her and offered to give her a brass and iron knob. Unlike Tarkington's Penrod, Clarence does not daydream that a girl worships him because he has learned to float through the air. The New England boy admits openly and even a little brutally that he is "loused up thinking one thing and only one thing" which he calls by one of its four-letter names. Have the adolescents themselves changed, or does the difference lie in the way novelists portray them?

Nevertheless, Clarence, the son of a small-town motion picture house manager, does not wind up disillusioned with life as did Holden Caulfield, the narrator of J. D. Salinger's **The Catcher in the Rye**. The refugee from a prep school found nothing in his environment to catch on to, but Clarence, by the end of the book, has weathered his emotional storm and gone back to being a fairly normal, growing human animal. **—Ruth Mahoney**

**I LOVE YOU, MARY FATT, by Russell F. Davis. Crown Publishers, Inc., N.Y. 179 pp. $3.50.*

BOOKS

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by Robert E. Light, Carl Marzani

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# Stevenson's tour

*(Continued from Page 1)*

bring an enlightened view to the Administration of their problems and aspirations. But following the Cuban debacle, during which Stevenson had insisted in the UN that the U.S. was not involved, his popularity dropped sharply. Stevenson apparently feared a repetition of Richard Nixon's "goodwill" tour in 1958, when the Vice President was spat at and stoned.

Stevenson finally acceded to the President's request and agreed to go. Each Latin American government provided assurances of his safety. It was decided also that he would stay out of the public eye. Newman reported May 30: "He will dash in and out of each country with minimum publicity and maximum dispatch." He was to avoid press conferences, Newman added, "at which embarrassing questions regarding Cuba might be asked."

**'NEW SPIRIT':** Stevenson's first stop was Caracas, Venezuela, where Nixon had been stoned in 1958. Finding a friendly crowd of several hundred at the airport, Stevenson said: "There is a new spirit alive in the free democratic countries of this hemisphere."

A company of Venezuelan riflemen was stationed through the airport to prevent anti-U.S. demonstrations, but all was quiet. The atmosphere was in sharp contrast to the prevailing mood May 15, when Teodoro Moscoso arrived to take up his duties as U.S. ambassador. He was forced to stay away from a symphony concert because, it was alleged, an anti-U.S. demonstration was planned.

President Romulo Betancourt is reported to have urged Stevenson to continue economic sanctions against the Dominican Republic until the Trujillo family abandons power.

**A WARNING:** In Argentina, Foreign Minister Adolfo Mugica is reported to have told Stevenson that it would be impossible to get unanimous Latin American support for punitive action against Cuba. He advised the U.S. to adopt a live-and-let-live policy. At a banquet Mugica warned against "unilateral efforts to stamp out violently . . . spots of hemisphere tension."

Argentina's President Arturo Frondizi emphasized that each Latin American country's economic needs had to be assessed separately. For Argentina the problem was to develop national industries rather than subsidiaries of U.S. companies. Like Betancourt, he stressed the need for credits to purchase manufacturing tools from abroad rather than consumer goods. The country also had to have technical assistance and a stable U.S. income from raw material exports, he said.

In Buenos Aires, spokesmen for Paraguayan exiles—there are about 300,000 in Argentina—tried unsuccessfully to see Stevenson to present a petition for Inter-American action against the "ferocious despotism" of President Alfredo Stroessner.

**STUDENT PROTEST:** Stevenson ran into the first full-fledged anti-U.S. demonstration in Montevideo, Uruguay. University students staged a rally, shouting, "Cuba si, Stevenson out," while the U.S. representative was meeting with Uruguayan officials. Stevenson heard at the meeting that Uruguay favors a hands-off policy toward Cuba. This was in reply to his plea for "efficient machinery of defense against intervention of the Soviet bloc as illustrated by the conquest of Cuba by communism."

The greeting at Galeo Air Base in Brazil was stiff and formal; there were no civilian spectators. Later Stevenson had a 2½-hour private meeting with President Janio Quadros, whose foreign policy of closer ties with African, Asian and socialist countries has been viewed with suspicion in Washington. Stevenson said there had been agreement that "the best defense against extremism of the left or of the right" was to improve "the conditions and life of ordinary people." During Stevenson's visit Quadros moved to improve conditions in Recife by sending warships and marines to put down a student strike, which threatened to spread to unions and peasant leagues. The strike was called to protest a ban on a meeting to hear the mother of Ernesto (Che) Guevara of Cuba. Students finally capitulated after 17 days. On departing, Stevenson said he had found Quadros "acutely conscious" of the communist threat.

**STROESSNER VISIT:** Nixon skipped Paraguay in his 1958 tour to avoid the impression of support for Stroessner's dictatorship. But Stevenson stopped for a one-day visit with Stroessner during which he "expressed with candor the view that protection of civil rights, free elections and democratic procedures would greatly enhance international respect for Paraguay."

The same day three leaders of the Liberal and Febrerista opposition parties were seized on their arrival at the airport to confer with Stevenson and sent back to exile in Argentina. Mrs. Carlos Levi Ruffinelli, wife of a Liberal party leader, was arrested as she left the U.S. Embassy after delivering a note from her husband. Stevenson said that Stroessner had promised to hold free elections.

Demonstrators smashed the windows of the U.S. Information Agency building in Santiago, Chile, in protest against Stevenson's arrival. After talks with Chilean leaders, Stevenson said: "The treatment of the U.S.I.A. is certainly different from that given to me and my party."

**BOLIVIA 'SIEGE':** When Stevenson arrived, Bolivia was in a "state of siege" proclaimed by President Victor Paz Estenssoro against resistance to his plan to reorganize the tin mines and put thousands out of work. He had arrested mine union leaders and, on the eve of Stevenson's visit, had arrested 70 additional persons, who he said, were planning a "communist revolt." A "march of liberty" by students and workers to demand the release of the imprisoned leaders was charged by police. Five marchers died from gunshot and nine others were wounded. Minister of Government Eduardo Rivas Ugalde said that the demonstrators were communists and fascists who deliberately shot into their own ranks. Student Federation leaders said the group had no political affiliation and that the marchers had no weapons.

**TROOPS AT HOTEL:** At the airport Stevenson said: "We know about the constant agitation of those who do not want progress and freedom, but misery and communism." Troops ringed Stevenson's hotel during his visit, but there were no demonstrations against him.

But in Lima, Peru, at a meeting that ended in a free-for-all, Max Hernandez, president of the San Marcos University Student Federation, called Stevenson "an undesirable person."

Mayor Pedro Menendez Gilbert saw to it that Stevenson got a friendly reception in Guayaquil, Ecuador, by organizing the greeting crowd. On the eve of Stevenson's arrival, Ecuador President Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra sought to ingratiate himself by removing Gerardo Falconi as Ambassador to Cuba because he had declared solidarity with Castro, and by disassociating himself from Vice President Carlos Julio Arosemena's trip to the Soviet Union. Velasco Ibarra asked Stevenson for a $20,000,000 emergency loan and $170,000,000 in long-term financing.

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# CALENDAR

## BAY AREA

Another Guardian Forum: — WHAT ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT? Speakers: Philip Eden, ILWU Research Dept.
FRIDAY — JULY 7 — 8 P.M.
United Nations Hall, 160 Grand Ave., Oakland. Ausp: SONG (Supporters of Natl. Guardian)

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## NEW YORK

**GUARDIAN NIGHT. THURS., JULY 27** Off-Broadway hit, Genet's "The Blacks." Price: $5 & $6. Call Theodora Peck, OR 3-3800, or write to the National Guardian, 197 E. 4 St., NYC 9.

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ANNOUNCING AN OPEN FORUM with JIM PECK of the Freedom Riders speaking on **"Non-Violence & American Apartheid"** at Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Sq. S.
**Mon., June 26, 8 p.m.**
Chairman, M.S. Arnoni, Editor, "Minority of One." Ausp: Study Group on Non-Violence.

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**FIESTA**—SAT., JULY 1, — 8:30 p.m.
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# THE GALLERY

**WORLD LIGHT HEAVYWEIGHT** boxing champion Archie Moore, whose age ranges from 44 to 48, depending of which record book you check, gave Guilio Renaldi, the young challenger from Italy a 15-round boxing lesson in a successful defense of his title June 10. But Moore wasn't through teaching when the final bell sounded. When TV announcer Don Dunphy pulled him before the cameras to ask the usual inane and patronizing questions, Moore held his hand up to silence the announcer. Before I get to your questions, Moore said, I want to announce that I'm donating $3,000 to the Mayor of San Diego to give to deaf and dumb children. I'm donating $1,000 to these wonderful children, the Freedom Riders. Five hundred dollars goes to B'nai B'rith and $500 to buy me a life membership in the NAACP. Now, Moore said to Dunphy, what did you want to ask? . . . The late George S. Kaufman, brilliant wit and author who died this month, was the source of many anecdotes. Many of them revolved around bridge, which he loved to play. One of the most famous concerns a game Kaufman had at the old Crockford's Club with three dignified society matrons. One was Mrs. Reginald Fincke, wife of a noted music critic. As scorekeeper Kaufman had to ask each of the ladies to spell her name. When Mrs. Fincke's turn came she spelled her name deliberately—"with an e," she repeated. During the game a hand went wrong and Kaufman swore, "Oh shucks" (only he didn't say shucks). Remembering where he was, he looked up and added, "with an e."

**AT A MEMORIAL SERVICE** for war dead in New York, Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, wartime head of the atomic bomb project, said: "In my opinion a most unfortunate philosophy has been advanced in recent years. This is that a soldier must know what he is fighting for and all the reasons behind it. A properly trained soldier does not have to be convinced of the righteousness of his cause." He added that a soldier need not concern himself with "both sides of a question." After his speech, Groves reviewed a parade by the American Legion posts of the New York Life Insurance Co. and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. A group of soldiers that would meet Groves' specifications is the French Foreign Legion, 60 percent of whom are former Nazi soldiers. The Legion's slogan is, "My regiment is my homeland." . . . From the San Francisco **Chronicle:** "Millionaire attorney Vincent Hallinan spent an hour yesterday telling the Junior Chamber of Commerce about the evils of capitalism. He got a surprisingly warm reception." . . . **Indiagram,** a newsletter published by the Indian Embassy in Washington, reported that during Vice President Lyndon Johnson's visit to New Delhi, "in the course of a brief chat the U.S. Vice President had with students, he remarked, 'Why is it that Indian girls look so alike'?" . . . Drew Pearson reported a sidelight on the Vienna meeting between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev. During a dinner, the two Mr. Ks and the two Mrs. Ks were sitting together when Soviet Foreign Minister Andre Gromyko entered. President K told Premier K that he was reminded that after Gromyko's visit to the White House, "my wife told me, 'He looks like a nice man. He doesn't look so ominous'." That, said the President, "will probably ruin him in the Kremlin." Premier K shot back: "Some people don't agree with Mrs. Kennedy. There are some who say he looks like Nixon."

**—Robert E. Light**

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| (Calcium) | 215 mg. |
| (Phosphorus) | 106 mg. |
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**NEWSPAPER**

# the SPECTATOR

## *Two Italian films*

SOONER OR LATER every country which has allowed itself to fall into the hands of tyrants, or has undergone humiliation in an unjust war, must come to grips with its responsibility. But not simply as a nation in general. That would be too easy. It permits the most guilty to be confused with the least, the mighty ones with the browbeaten; while the difference between the heroes who resisted and the rest who went along or were silent becomes only a matter of degree, not of quality. Then what is called compassion fosters selfpity, and people no longer remember which side, if any, they were on, but only that they suffered.

The writers and directors of the great Italian neo-realist films which appeared immediately after the war were not tempted to take shelter in such universal absolution. Disgust with fascist rule was so widespread, and those who profited from it were so easily identifiable, that they could be attacked with classic simplicity. The film makers also projected positive figures through whom the Italian people might feel that they had not lost the power to determine their own fate. These they took, naturally, from the antifascist underground and Resistance, never from equivocal subjects like General della Rovere, the protagonist of the popular film that bears his name.

IT WOULD BE INSTRUCTIVE to compare Rosselini's **Open City** (1945) with his present film, winner of the Venice Grand Prize. Here one can only say that whereas the early work was clear and strong, the solder which holds together the crook and hero phases of the General is the longing of the audience for an inspirational ending, a reconciliation of incompatibles akin to the redemption of a sinner. But such miracles occur rarely and it encourages cynicism in men and nations to depend upon them.

When we first meet della Rovere he is a con man, with a history as an abuser of minors, a taker of blood money from relatives of imprisoned men. Caught as a petty criminal, he accepts a German officer's proposition that he pose as a captured Italian general to entrap jailed partisans whom the Nazis are anxious to identify. The turning point in his life, which ends before an enemy firing squad, comes with his sudden refusal to betray his countrymen. But despite Vittorio De Sica's tour de force acting, the spectator would be hard put to know how such a conversion could take place on the basis of the dramatic evidence presented. In an earlier picture, **Gold of Naples**, De Sica played the part of a comic gentleman thief. It is no service to the Italian people to have somewhat the same character put on the false face of a legendary figure, a symbol of national conscience and martyrdom.

IN CHARACTER WITH the winning projection of della Rovere is the mellow presentation of the supporting cast: the petty gentry, the aristocrats, the clergy, the prison guards, all of whom—except the German officer and the uniformed fascists—seem united by their common trouble. The partisans are presented straightforwardly as the heroes they were. Otherwise the screen is peopled with kindly images, but almost no one is called to account, even by implication for what happened in Italy before the German got there and what is happening all over again now that they are gone.

Perhaps government and private money is not so readily available for a film which might show a more typical reality: an operator like della Rovere collaborating with the Nazis, and then fraternizing with the American army; first a betrayer, afterward an entertainer, and finally a millionaire in an Italy returned to the rich, the police and the bishops. Such a picture would have been nearer to psychological and social truth.

MORE REMINISCENT of the early neo-realist works is **Two Women**, wonderfully directed by De Sica and notable, among other things, for rescuing Sophia Loren from the American cheesecake bakery. The picture, now playing at the Sutton in New York City, is Cesare Zavattini's adaption of Alberto Moravia's novel about the stay of a mother and daughter in a mountain village southeast of Rome from which they had fled to escape the wartime hardships of the capital. Cesira, the mother, has been awaiting the capture of the city by Allied troops so that she can reopen her shop.

On the way back the pair are waylaid by a band of French Moroccan troops; the girl is raped by them. At this point the film shifts to the traumatic effect upon the young Rosetta and her neurotic need for promiscuity, and ends with a somewhat telescoped reconciliation between mother and daughter. Sorrow heals their break: they learn that Michele, a gentle young man, the one antifascist in the village where they had stayed, has been killed by Germans. They weep in each other's arms, as they recede on the dark screen.

The climatic rape scene is the film's comment on the vicious inertia of war which rolls over all like smoking lava. In complement, Michele's lectures to the farmers and refugees, his naive purity, his sacrifical death and the women's mourning for him introduce an element of communal feeling which Cesira, with her Mother Courage resiliency and her peasant and shopkeeper conservatism, has not experienced before.

Even so, Moravia's novel is much more politically oriented than the film and more unsparing in its moral anger. Over and over, delineating or speaking through Cesira, he tells his people that it is not enough to be devoted to one's own and indifferent to the rest. All are involved; if one must live, one should also make life worth living and not allow the worst to rule again. The film too often skirts this issue which is central to Moravia, charming us with slice-of-life incidents and humor while some hard truth waits to have its say.

—Charles Humboldt